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Town Meeting



BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

BROADCAST BY STATIONS OF THE AMERICAN BROADCASTING CO.



What Must We Do To Help Feed Europe?

Moderator, GEORGE V. DENNY, JR.

Speakers

HENRY A. WALLACE

H. J. HEINZ, II

CLAUDE PEPPER

A. L. MILLER

(See also page 12)

COMING

—March 14, 1946—

Do Our Movies Tend To Raise or Lower Our
Moral Standards?

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THE BROADCAST OF MARCH 7:

"What Must We Do To Help Feed Europe?"

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BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

GEORGE V. DENNY, JR., MODERATOR



MARCH 7, 1946

VOL. 11, No. 45

What Must We Do To Help Feed Europe?

Announcer:

Town Hall and the American Broadcasting Company welcome you to America's Town Meeting of the Air, here in Town Hall, New York, just off Times Square. This is school administrators' night on America's Town Meeting and we salute the school superintendents of the Nation from coast to coast, who are holding high the torch of learning for millions of children in the Nation's schools. But, whoever you are and wherever you are, tonight's topic concerns you deeply. Here to tell you about it is our moderator the president of Town Hall, founder of America's Town Meeting, Mr. George V. Denny, Jr. Mr. Denny. (*Applause.*)

Moderator Denny:

Good evening, neighbors. Tonight's question should have been worded, "What Are *You* Going to Do To Help Feed the Starving Peoples of the World." Nothing that our distinguished speakers

here tonight can say will give you an adequate picture of the appalling need of our fellow human beings in the devastated areas of the world for food, clothing, and shelter.

Personally, I've been ashamed many times, as I'm sure you have, to sit down before a lavish table, rich with sugars and fats, with more than enough bread, yes, and meat, knowing how desperately this food is needed by starving human beings, starving fellow human beings, in other parts of the world.

Well, what are you going to do about it? What are we going to do about it? Government, business, farmers, citizens, all of us must help, but how?

Let's take counsel here together tonight, with five, eight, ten million others, under the leadership of these four distinguished authorities. There are three things we want to know first in relation to our question—just what is the

need, how is it being met, and what should we do about it?

I'm going to ask Mr. Heinz and Senator Pepper if they will answer these first two questions briefly for us and perhaps the third will be answered by all four speakers. Mr. Heinz, will you tell us briefly what you understand to be the need involved?

Mr. Heinz: Mr. Denny, more people will be hungry and starving this year than at any time during the war. World food production is 12 per cent less than prewar and, unfortunately, in Europe it is 25 per cent less. Still more unfortunately, that production loss is concentrated in the countries most dependent upon imports.

As for the individual which is, after all, the most important thing, one hundred million people will receive only about 1,500 calories per day, and let us remember that that is 25 per cent below the minimum for health and safety as agreed to by both the U. S. Army and UNRRA.

Moderator Denny: What is their need for principally, Mr. Heinz?

Mr. Heinz: I would say that their need principally is for wheat, fats and oils, and meat.

Moderator Denny: Thank you, Mr. Heinz. Now, Senator Pepper, just what is being done about this by UNRRA and the other relief agencies? You've just returned from Europe and I'm sure you're in position to tell us.

Senator Pepper: As you know, the two sources through which relief is now being given are, first, through our Armies and certain other armies of occupation, and, second, through UNRRA. UNRRA, as you know, has about a billion, nine hundred million dollars a year to spend upon helping these needy people.

To show you the extent to which UNRRA was helping, I can cite a discovery that I made in Greece when I was there that 75 per cent of all the food consumed by the people in the cities and towns of Greece and 50 per cent of the food consumed in rural areas of Greece was furnished by UNRRA.

I remember one pathetic case that came to my attention to show what the Germans had inflicted upon these people in Greece when they were there. It was a story of how German officers stood on the balcony of their Officers' Club and dangled pieces of bread upon a string down nearly to the street below to let the little starving Greek children fight for it and when it came almost within their clutch to snatch it away in the highest glee at their suffering.

Moderator Denny: Thank you very much, Senator. This is distressing, indeed, and this afternoon we heard that something like 2,000 Greeks a day died of starvation. Secretary Wallace, I wonder, please, sir, if you would tell us if this jibes with your understand-

ing of the need and what is being done about it?

Secretary Wallace: Wasn't the story that 2,000 were dead every day on the streets of Athens?

Moderator Denny: Yes, that's right. I'm sorry.

Secretary Wallace: Yes, it is a much more serious situation and I believe that it is even more serious than Mr. Heinz and Secretary Pepper have indicated. Yes, the world food supply is only 12 per cent less this year, but in Europe it's 20 to 25 per cent less and when you get to the cities of Europe, in many cases it's 50 per cent less, and when you get to the poorer people in the cities of Europe, it's even worse than that.

To imagine the seriousness of that, let me call your attention to a story in one of the New York papers this morning about the experiments with the conscientious objectors out in Minneapolis, where they were cut down to half the normal quantity of food—a little more than half the normal quantity of food. As a result, they lost 40 per cent of their weight in six months, and even the size of their hearts was reduced, and the indications are that it will take them a full year to get back. While they were on that starvation diet, their attitude was changed.

Now it may be that some doctors will say that, "yes, they could have gotten along better if they hadn't taken as much exercise as

they did." That may be, but there are tens of millions, yes, more than a hundred million in Europe, that are faring on a diet which is less than these conscientious objectors submitted themselves to out at Minneapolis.

No wonder there are political disturbances in many parts of the world.

I wish to close with this, that the most serious starvation situation of all will be in India. There is a shortage in the rice crop so great, as a result of the failure of the monsoons, that there will be tens of millions of people starving in India. Now we can't altogether prevent that but we can, by acting effectively, do enough to save the lives of many millions of people. (*Applause.*)

Moderator Denny: Thank you, Mr. Secretary. Now friends and neighbors, out across this land, this great wealthy land of America, we're face to face with this question: Just what should we as a government, as citizens, as farmers, as business people, as Americans, as human beings, citizens of this world do about this question? So let's hear the principal address of the Senator from Florida, the Honorable Claude Pepper. Senator Pepper. (*Applause.*)

Senator Pepper:

Yes, the great heart of the United States goes out not only to the starving of Europe but to the hungry everywhere in the world.

Recently I saw in Europe shocking evidence of the pity of starvation. I saw human beings scavenging food scraps from the tables of occupying armies in Austria. I saw pot-bellied, spindle shanked, gaunt faced kids in Italy, silently staring out of tired eyes and waiting for the food that never seemed to come.

I heard stories of the ghastly conditions in Czechoslovakia that made my blood run cold. The Germans are getting an average of 1,850 calories a day of rationed and unrationed food. In Czechoslovakia the average is over 200 calories less and in Italy the diet is as low as 1,100 calories.

Yes, we must increase the food supplies going to these hungering peoples at once. How can we do that? First, we must live up to our obligations to UNRRA.

We are not doing that now. The latest figures show that of 300,000,000 pounds of meat we pledged UNRRA during the first quarter of 1946, we had supplied just over three per cent of that as early as February. This is not because we are short of meats, for our average annual consumption per person is 165 pounds, 40 pounds more than in 1940.

Consumption in countries being supplied by UNRRA is about one-quarter of the difference of 40 pounds between our 1940 and our 1946 consumption. Is anyone unwilling to go back to our 1940 diet

in return for a pledge that we will ship the extra meat overseas to forestall starvation?

The second thing that we can do is prevent selfish and special interests from cutting down the relief program. Soon after President Truman had announced the cuts in grain for breweries, telephone calls came from 40 members of Congress pleading with the Secretary of Agriculture to pity the poor brewers.

The cut in grain consumption by the brewing industry means about 600,000 tons of grain saved to feed the starving. According to estimates made by Dean Atchison, over a million people will die if we fall 600,000 tons short on our grain allotment to UNRRA. Of course, we do not love our beer or pity our brewers so much that we would sacrifice that many lives for our pleasure and their profit.

The third job we must accomplish is to secure the enactment of the proposed loan to Great Britain, for if Great Britain does not get the loan, she will be unable to buy the food she needs from us. She will have to buy food from the sterling-bloc countries — Canada, Australia and so on—and that food will be food that those countries have already pledged to UNRRA.

A fourth imperative is that we must make sure that certain complacent and selfish pressures within our own Government do not slow

down the program of supplying food for the starving.

If we will not carry on the official cry about surpluses we can be sure that there will be no surpluses if we fulfill our obligations to UNRRA.

Last, Congress itself must live up to its own pledges. The major reason for the present frightful food emergency in Eastern and Southern Europe where the diets are lowest is the three months delay in which Congress indulged itself last fall before passing the UNRRA appropriation. Starvation does not wait on the unhurried action of the overfed.

Moreover, Congress must support Chester Bowles and Paul Porter and maintain the OPA and price control. (*Applause.*) In fact, UNRRA supplies must be bought on the open market as every food price rise means less food for the starving.

UNRRA's funds are very limited; they should be increased. UNRRA and OPA must be extended so that UNRRA can buy more food at equitable prices and the half of OPA's enforcement offices recently cut out in the Senate by those who don't really favor OPA enforcement should be restored. (*Applause.*)

If we do all those things—if industry, agriculture, Congress, the Administration, and the people—if all of us together meet our Christian obligations to mankind

we will be able to live with a clear conscience knowing that we have done what we can to stop what Thomas Hardy called "the long drip of human tears" which these peoples old in tragedy have left upon the centuries years. (*Applause.*)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Senator Pepper. Now one of the most famous names in American business is that of H. J. Heinz and we're happy indeed to have the counsel of the president of the H. J. Heinz Company, Mr. H. J. Heinz, II. Mr. Heinz. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Heinz:

With Senator Pepper's appeal that we must feed Europe, I agree. That it is easy, I disagree. Senator Pepper has made some very helpful and constructive suggestions. I wish he would tell more about how it can be done.

Before suggesting any solutions, I wish to make my own position quite clear. I speak tonight as an individual, not as a spokesman for the food industry. No one man can speak for the country's largest industry.

I sincerely believe, in the light of my recent trip to England, Belgium and Holland, that the United States must act with the speed of a man coming to the aid of a drowning friend. We have just won the first battle of Europe. We are fighting the second, and the enemy is famine.

Now for my suggestions.

The President should tell what food is needed, how much, and where. He should make a monthly report on progress made in meeting these requirements. Among the Government's three million employees, surely somebody should have had the time to get the right answers.

The President should explain the reasons why we must help feed Europe. The reasons are three: First, the American tradition of common decency and human kindness demand that we help feed Europe. It is this tradition that has given us one of our greatest assets — a reservoir of good will throughout the world.

Second, our future international trade demands a healthy and productive Europe which only a well-fed and energetic people can create. I thoroughly agree with Secretary Wallace's recent statement that we must have an indivisible world economy.

Third, the entire world's future peace and stability demand that we share our food. In the words of Lord Halifax, "Hunger and discontent are a poor foundation for the peaceful and prosperous world that we are trying to build."

Hunger provokes despair. Despair provokes hate, especially against those who fail to live up to their promises. Hate makes war. In no better way can America's moral, spiritual, and material

might be used than to restore peace of mind to a despairing world. It is time to display the strength of democracy in peace. (*Applause.*)

Explain fully these three reasons why we should help feed Europe and Americans will pitch in. They do not have to be led around by the nose, treated as children, or shamed into helping.

The newly formed Famine Emergency Committee should determine and announce immediately voluntary conservation steps which the public can take — meatless days, breadless meals, fat-conservation, food substitutes, etc.

One thing is sure—we must eliminate waste. In New York City in 1945, there was 31 per cent more food thrown away as garbage than in 1931.

Then let the Committee mobilize all means of influencing public opinion. The churches might institute a famine relief religious service all on the same day. The food editors of the press did a magnificent job, during the war, of showing people how to save. They can and will do it again.

The Government should constantly consult with the ablest men in those divisions of the food and other industries which are directly affected by the European feeding program. These men will be able to help if their advice is heeded.

Some of them have already proposed a uniform limitation in the use of wheat for flour and cereals. Their proposal would save far more than the 25,000,000 bushels to be gained from the use of dark bread.

A basic reason for the wheat shortage is the large amount being used for animal feed. Three to four hundred per cent more than prewar. Let the Government re-examine the present controlled relationship between wheat and meat prices so that wheat will be sold.

It is most important that our relief program bring about the restoration of European agriculture. We should send all we can of seed, fertilizer, farm machinery, locomotives, railroad cars, and trucks. One good crop year will make Europe generally self-sufficient.

Our Government should make every effort to get other food-supply areas back into production. We are still shipping sugar to the Philippines—normally a large exporter.

Let the Administration decide on an industrial policy which promotes maximum industrial production instead of strikes. This will have two effects. It will help the American as well as the European farmer to get much-needed agricultural equipment. It will encourage the American farmer to produce more by insuring him of

a steady and a large domestic market.

My final suggestion concerns the children of Europe. In the name of all that this country stands for, let's provide food for those children. In some parts of Europe, infant mortality is running as high as 50 per cent. If necessary, give the food outright. Let's not haggle about methods when children's lives hang in the balance. (*Applause.*) For them, we must ship now and save later. (*Applause.*)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Mr. Heinz for a very specific set of suggestions. Congressman Miller from out there in Kimball, Nebraska, has done a great deal of thinking about how we can do our full part to help feed Europe. He has definite ideas on what Government should and shouldn't do. I take pleasure in presenting Congressman A. L. Miller. (*Applause.*)

Congressman Miller:

Thank you, Mr. Denny. Yes, the world is hungry. As we listen to Senator Pepper who has recently returned from an extensive tour of Europe, he says the job of feeding Europe is terribly easy and admits the record shows it has not been done. He talks about a loan to Britain and he scolds the Agriculture Department and Congress for not extending credit to the UNRRA.

Here I feel a little like a cat at a dog show because I'm going to talk about OPA. He wants the OPA extended. Why that's the agency that fathers the black market and whose foolish price policy has caused a shortage of everything from shirts and butter to milady's girdles. (*Applause.*)

Now, I think Mr. Secretary of Commerce, Mr. Wallace, probably as a member of the President's Cabinet, ought to give us some very concrete examples and directions to go on. I think he would rather abhor, as we all do, the mixing of politics in with the production of food, but I must remind you, listening audience, that the production, the distribution, the processing, and the raising of food is honeycombed with politics. There are some 13 different agencies now that have their finger in the food pie.

This Administration cannot escape the responsibility of the present break-down in supplying food to Europe. (*Applause.*) Yes, I think we are knee-deep in calories. I think some of you are digging your graves with your teeth, and I speak as a doctor. The housewife scans the advertisements in the paper in her moments of indecision as to whether she wants sirloin steak, or veal, or fowl, or fish, together with a large choice of vegetables and fruit.

At the same time, the world looks to America for food. To

them, we're a land of plenty. We are told that there are millions on the verge of starvation, and I think there are in Europe and Asia. Help must be given before June or many will starve.

What can be done? Can the arrangements, and the agreements, and the commitments made be kept? If not, why not?

Personally I doubt very much whether they can be kept. I think the bureaucrats of Washington have fooled the American people and those of foreign countries. The information that they give out about the food supply of the world and of this country cannot be followed; it changes from week to week.

The country promised them 300,000,000 pounds of meat to Europe in the first three months of this year. Senator Pepper has just told you that they supplied about 3 per cent of that quota up to February 19.

Europe is receiving about 60 per cent of the flour we actually promised to her for relief—commitments made at various times. To produce flour, my friends, we must move the wheat from the elevators now chucked full of wheat. I have a wire here from my hometown of Kimball, Nebraska, in which it says that the elevators out there are chucked full of wheat and that it will take two years at the present rate of receiving cars in western Nebraska

to move the present wheat crop that they have. Whose fault is that?

Europe needs canned goods, and yet, according to the Department of Commerce, over which our Secretary, Mr. Wallace, presides, the carry over of canned vegetables is 51 per cent below 1940, and canned fruits is 81 per cent below 1940. This is an all-time low.

For 20 years before the war, we imported more agricultural products than we exported. In 1944, we imported 260 billion bushels in wheat and we only exported 15 million bushels of wheat. We had a billion bushel crop of wheat in 1945 and we had one in 1915. That was 30 years ago, and I would remind you that in 1915 we had no foolish planning—we had no plowing under of the crops, or pig-killing programs, or regimented agricultural arrangement. *(Applause.)*

Now I think that you can stop wasting food. The garbage pails of many American families would feed many in Europe. The Army saved 20 million pounds of cooking fat last year by just rendering the fat that came to them. That's in this country.

They are saving 720,000 pounds of bread a month. Yes, they are saving 56,000 pounds of sugar per month—what do you think, by not sweetening their prunes. We can get along without sugar on the prunes.

Volunteer rationing will be a great help. Make it possible for individuals to mail food packages to Europe. There are six countries now that are denied this source of supply. Individuals in Greece may receive one 11-pound package every two weeks; Italy, a 4-pound package a month, in limited areas.

As Mr. Heinz on this program has so well stated also, if we tell the American people the truth through the radio, and the press, and the pulpit, about the plight of the starving millions of Europe, the American people's generosity, decency, and pride, and self-sacrifice will know no limit.

I should say place one individual over all food products, pricing, and distribution. There are a dozen agencies now handling it.

So, the immediate problem of supplying Europe with food centers around transportation, voluntary rationing, and cooperation with direct, immediate action by responsible government agencies. *(Applause.)*

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Congressman Miller, Republican of Nebraska. Now, someone has just handed me a note asking me to explain what UNRRA is. Is there anybody here who doesn't know what UNRRA is? Is there anybody out across the Nation who doesn't know what UNRRA is?—The United Nations

THE SPEAKERS' COLUMN

HENRY AGARD WALLACE—Now Secretary of Commerce of the United States, the Honorable Henry Wallace was appointed to that position by the late President Roosevelt. He had already served in the high position of Vice President of the United States under President Roosevelt.

Mr. Wallace was born in Adair County, Iowa, in 1888. He has a B.S. degree from Iowa State College and an honorary M.S. in Agriculture from the same school. From 1910 to 1924 he was associate editor of *Wallace's Farmer*, editor from 1924 to 1929, and editor of *Wallace's Farmer* and *Iowa Homestead* (merged), from 1929 until 1933.

Appointed Secretary of Agriculture in 1933, he served until his election as Vice President in 1940. In March, 1945, he became Secretary of Commerce.

Mr. Wallace has written many books and has traveled widely.

HENRY JOHN HEINZ, II—President of the H. J. Heinz Company since 1941, Mr. Heinz was born in Sewickley, Pennsylvania, in 1908. He received an A.B. degree from Yale in 1931 and was a student at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1931-32. In 1932 he was a salesman in England for the Heinz Company which was founded by his grandfather in 1869. In the United States, he worked with the sales department until 1937 when he was made assistant to the president. Since 1941 he has been president of the company.

Mr. Heinz is director of the Mellon National Bank, and president of the Allegheny County Federation of Social Agencies, Sarah Heinz House. He has also been president of the United War

Fund of Pittsburgh, and director of the National War Fund.

CLAUDE DENSON PEPPER—United States Senator from Florida since 1936, Claude Pepper is a member of the Foreign Relations Committee. Born on a farm in Alabama, he had a common school education and taught school for a short time before going to college. In 1921, he received his A.B. from the University of Alabama and in 1924, his LL.B. from Harvard Law School. After one year of teaching law at the University of Arkansas, he set up a law office in Perry, Florida, where he practiced for five years. He then moved his office to Tallahassee where he practiced until he was elected to the United States Senate.

During the 1929 session of the Florida Legislature, Senator Pepper was a representative from Taylor County. At various times he has been a member of the Florida State Board of Public Welfare, the Florida State Board of Law Examiners, and the executive council of the Florida State Bar Association. Senator Pepper was chairman of the Florida delegation to the Democratic National Convention in 1940.

ARTHUR LEWIS MILLER—Republican Congressman Miller from Nebraska has been a member of the United States House of Representatives since 1943. He was born in Plainview, Nebraska, in 1892, and has a degree in medicine from Loyola University, Chicago, Illinois. Since 1918 he has been a physician and surgeon in Kimball, Nebraska. He was mayor of Kimball from 1934 to 1936, a member of the Nebraska Legislature from 1937 to 1941 and state health director in 1941-42.

Relief and Rehabilitation Administration—that's it.

Now, it's our very great pleasure at this time to present another outstanding authority on this question—a man who has served his country as Secretary of Agriculture, as Vice President of the United States, and is now our Secretary of Commerce. Mr. Secretary, what must we, the people, do to help feed the starving peo-

ples of Europe and of the world? The Honorable Henry A. Wallace. (Applause.)

Secretary Wallace:

First I want to say, Mr. Denny, that the United States is going to do a perfectly marvelous job with regard to sending wheat and wheat flour to Europe in the crop year ending next July. We shall send during that crop year nearly ten times as much as we sent, on the

average, abroad during the ten years before the war.

The farmers of the United States and the millers of the United States should take great pride in that truly extraordinary feat. But pride is not enough. We can do so much more than that, that it will result in saving the lives not of 20 million people, but of 25 or 30 million people. Why be satisfied with less when we can do more?

I am inclined to disregard the tiny pin pricks that have been admitted here tonight (*applause*) but I do want to say that I am very, very proud of having set up the ever-normal granery, and of having put in that ever-normal granery as a result of that planning, which has been so criticized here tonight, an extra 10 million bushels of grain in 1940 as compared to what the situation was in 1932. (*Applause.*) That extra 10 million bushels of grain by itself is enough to save the lives of more than 50 million people during this particular period ahead. That is something truly to be proud of.

The situation that has come on us during the past four or five months is one which is a little bit like that situation which suddenly came upon Job. You remember Job there, rolling in his abundance with all his seven children, and the Lord decided to test him. Suddenly there came a messenger that told about the destruc-

tion of his flocks, and a messenger that told about the destruction of his children, and so on and finally he was afflicted with boils.

Well, this present food situation is a little bit like that. Last year we harvested the biggest wheat crop in all our history. We have had several years of extraordinarily big wheat crops, several years of extraordinarily large grain crops. Yes, the planning that we did during the decade of the '30's had so stored fertility in our soil, that when we had ordinary weather, we were able to produce an average of 30 per cent more than we had produced before. That was supremely worth while and I'll defend that soil conservation and that grain storage that we indulged in to the dying day of my life. I'm proud of it. (*Applause.*)

But as I said, after harvesting this largest wheat crop in our history, slowly bad news began rolling in from all quarters of the world, from southern France—the French Ambassador tells me in southern France they had the worst drought in the century—in northern Africa, the worst drought in the century; from certain spots in eastern Europe; from India the worst drought in sixty years—the monsoons failed, failed not once but two years in succession—Australia, a failure in the wheat crop last year.

In the month of January the word came from Argentina, two

million tons short in Argentina. Two million tons—that's a lot. That represents enough food to take care of twenty million people for six months.

Let me tell you what's involved in taking care of a person on a minimum diet. From the standpoint of a city person, a half a loaf a day will just about do it for a period of six months. Oh, it's bad, but you can get along. A half a loaf a day—visualize that.

From the standpoint of a farmer for a six months' period, a bushel of grain. There are farmers in this audience. A bushel of grain represents the saving of a human life.

Well, I was supposed to say—and my time is nearly up—I was supposed to say just what we're going to do about it. I'll go over it very fast. We're going to carry on a campaign with everything that's in us to save bread—that's first, by consumers, retailers, and bakers. I've got many good friends in these trades and they are going to do their best. The consumers are going to do their best.

As Senator Pepper said, we're going to stop using wheat for the making of alcohol (*applause*) and we're going to cut down the use of other grain so that we'll only be drinking as much as we did in 1940. (*Laughter.*) Now, those of you who think that we ought to cut down still further, write to

Secretary Anderson, write to Secretary Hoover—they're afraid to go further now. (I shouldn't say Secretary Hoover — write to ex-president Hoover.) They're afraid to go further now because they're afraid the American people won't take it. I say, let the American people tell them by letters what they are willing to take.

Now, I'm willing to grant that these liquors furnish calories to people that are accustomed to them. (*Laughter.*) Now, don't laugh at that. It's really true and, if their systems' are accustomed to getting their calories that way, we don't want to treat them too badly, but I think they'll survive if they get as much as they did in 1940. (*Laughter and applause.*)

Now, this 80 per cent wheat extraction instead of 70 per cent, this so-called dark bread. Dark bread, my eye! I've seen that so-called dark bread. It's just as white as the white bread we've been getting right along. The only difference is you don't get as much air in it. I've been eating 100 per cent bread for the last two years and it's swell. I wouldn't go back to 80 per cent or 70 per cent bread for anything. Most of us are used to the white bread and again habit counts, but we can, even if we don't like it, get along with so-called dark bread for a few months if, thereby, we can save an extra two million lives.

Now, I see my friend, Mr. Den-ny, here insisting that I quit. I

didn't list all the things we can do, but maybe I've listed enough to get the conversation started later. (Applause.)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you very much, Mr. Secretary. But I'm afraid another arm of the Government would reach in and scold us if we didn't pause briefly for station identification at this time.

Announcer:

You are listening to America's Town Meeting of the Air from Town Hall in New York City. We're carrying on the discussion of the question "What Must We Do To Help Feed Europe?" We've heard from the Honorable Henry A. Wallace, Senator Claude Pepper, Congressman A. L. Miller, and H. J. Heinz, II. For a complete copy of this discussion, including the question period to follow immediately, send for the Town Meeting Bulletin. Write to Town Hall, New York 18, New York. Enclose ten cents to cover the cost of printing and mailing, and be sure to include your zone number and allow at least two weeks for delivery.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Now, ladies and gentlemen, if you'll just step up here around the microphone with us, we'll have a little discussion before we let the audience in on the question period. I believe Mr. Heinz has a question for the Secretary. Mr. Heinz.

Mr. Heinz: Mr. Secretary, I think we can—this country and its farmers—be proud of sending six billion bushels of wheat to Europe in the next six months—if we do it. I would like to ask you, sir, if you honestly believe that the farmers will sell a sufficient quantity of wheat at present prices to meet our foreign commitments and, if not, what would you propose as an alternative?

Secretary Wallace: The farmers, during the last part of last year, shipped about 190 million bushels of wheat to Europe. During January, they shipped a million tons to Europe which was their commitment, that's about 37 million bushels. They fell down a little bit on the allocation that we were supposed to comply with in the month of February, just a little but in the month of March, there's trouble ahead.

That trouble consists not in unwillingness of farmers to sell, but in the inability to get the freight cars, as Congressman Miller has pointed out, to the places where the wheat is. That means that we can't have business as usual. We've got to sidetrack other business and get the cars there. Now, there are certain businessmen and certain railroads that won't like to do that, but if we think of this as supremely important—and I think the log jam has finally been broken—we can get the cars there.

With regard to the psychological

situation of the farmers relative to willingness to sell at the present price—I don't know whether Mr. Heinz is a bull or whether he is long on wheat or not and wants the price to go up, I don't suppose he is—I think that if we get this message really across to the farmers that they won't hold the wheat back thinking that if they hold it back they are going to get higher prices. I think too highly of farmers for that.

Why I know of a farmer in North Dakota who just during the past six weeks contributed a car of wheat. He gave that car of wheat because he wanted to help the people in Europe. (*Applause.*) I don't think there are many farmers in a position to do that, but I do think that farmers are this patriotic that once we break this log jam of getting the freight cars to the places where the grain can be shipped that they will be glad to get the grain into the freight cars and get it rolling to the market.

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Mr. Heinz, is that satisfactory?

Mr. Heinz: Yes, I only wish to reply that I'm neither a bull nor a bear on wheat, nor am I an expert which I am reminded is one who is "seldom in doubt and frequently in error." (*Laughter.*)

Mr. Denny: For modesty that takes the prize I think. Now, Congressman Miller, do you have a question?

Congressman Miller: Yes, I would like to ask Senator Pepper a question. He is a great advocate of subsidies in this Administration and I've always opposed subsidies. I've always controlled government controls and emergencies because I think emergencies create controls and controls create emergencies and we get into a vicious circle. Now we have a subsidy of 17½ cents on butter, Senator Pepper, yet we don't have any butter. We have some subsidies on some other things. Do you think that a subsidy on wheat at this time might get some of it out of the elevators and bins? Would you suggest that to the Administration?

Senator Pepper: I'm afraid in the mind of my able friend, Mr. Miller, that politics is somewhat like the presence of the spirit, it's everywhere. (*Laughter.*) There always are, of course, political questions that enter even into the feeding of the hungry. I have been a consistent advocate of the subsidy because the subsidy has primarily been aimed at keeping down prices for the consumers of this country. (*Applause.*)

At the same time they have been aimed at keeping up production for the consumers of the country and making it possible for those who make things to do it without sustaining a financial loss. It's been proved that by a certain limited subsidy, you can make it possible, for example, for the farmers to

produce something for the consumers, which they couldn't otherwise produce and at a price at which it couldn't be sold without a subsidy.

Now, so much about the principles of the subsidy. Whether that is the thing particularly responsible for the shortage of butter or not, I'm not an expert in that subject myself, and I'm not able to say. But I would answer that question this way, if the reason there's a shortage of butter is the fact that the farmers have not been producing it in sufficient quantities and the subsidy would enable them to produce more, I shall continue to support the subsidy, Mr. Miller (*applause*), and I take it that you've already committed yourself to your continued opposition.

Secretary Wallace: Senator, I'd like to help you out a little bit on that butter. (*Laughter.*)

Congressman Miller: You'd better butter him up a little. He's going to need it because we soon won't have any butter.

Secretary Wallace: It isn't the failure of the cows to produce. (*Laughter.*) It's merely that we placed a little more emphasis in the form of a subsidy on the fluid milk

and a little less on the butter. I think we've been pretty happy to have the fluid milk and the ice cream.

Senator Pepper: Ask the babies whether they like the subsidies, or not.

Congressman Miller: I'll say that the people of New York are taking cream and mixing it with skimmed milk and drinking the substitute. Now we're asking for two billion dollars in subsidy money. Just remember, my friends, that money is passed down to your babies and your babies' babies to pay when people of this country have more money in their pockets than at any other time (*applause*) and they can pay their own grocery bills without passing it on. If a little subsidy is good, why not subsidize the whole thing, and give you food free like they do over in Russia? Then we'll get along fine. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Congressman Miller. Mr. Secretary?

Secretary Wallace: If we get rid of the tariff subsidy, I will agree. (*Laughter.*)

Mr. Denny: He says if we get rid of the tariff subsidy he will agree.

QUESTIONS, PLEASE!

Mr. Denny: Now, ladies and gentlemen, I see a great many people out there with questions ready to ask. Remember, please, if you limit your questions to 25 words, and they're germane—they're right to the point and they are not personal—you will be eligible for our \$25 U. S. War Bond, if our committee of judges thinks that your question is best. If you have a question, please raise your hand and let's start with the lady right over there.

Lady: Human nature being what it is, can we rely on mere appeals to conscience to conserve food in order to feed starving Europe and Asia?

Congressman Miller: I'm sorry, I didn't get the question.

Mr. Denny: Human nature being what it is, can we rely on voluntary means?

Congressman Miller: I think, lady, that in the past the American people's heart has been poured out for voluntary contributions to the Red Cross and to half a dozen other agencies, and they will do it again if a proper approach is made through the press, the radio, the pulpit, and proper information to the people. They will not do it unless they know the truth. *(Applause.)*

Mr. Denny: Thank you. The gentleman in the balcony. Yes?

Man: My question is to Mr.

Heinz. If rationing was necessary for ourselves, do you believe that our voluntary efforts would be effective in caring for starving Europe?

Mr. Heinz: I do. And I would think that the Congressman's confidence in the American people, as I suggested, when the facts of life are explained to them in terms of the international needs, will be sufficient as far as what the people do. But let us not forget that while voluntary rationing, if you please, goes on at one level, it is important that the necessary administrative measures be passed at the governmental level in order to secure the materials, the necessary commodities to ship abroad and quickly.

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Mr. Heinz. Here's a question from Providence, Rhode Island, for Secretary Wallace. "What can the average small families with modest incomes do toward helping to feed the starving millions of Europe?"

Secretary Wallace: The average small family by itself cannot do much but the thirty million small families in the United States in their aggregate can do more than anybody else. *(Applause.)* Just by preventing all possible waste by making sure that not a single slice of bread is wasted, by saving the fats, those thirty million

small families of moderate income in the United States can make all the difference in the world.

I note that this particular person is apparently a pastor of a Methodist Church. I had an uncle who was a pastor of a Methodist Church, and I know how the Methodists in time past have endeavored to save in order to meet a famine in China. The famine this time is perhaps five times as great as any of the famines the Methodists have tried to save to alleviate in the past, and I'm sure the Methodists, the millions of families of Methodists in the United States, today will rise to this challenge as they have to others in the past. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Mr. Secretary. The gentleman on the front row balcony. Yes?

Man: I've read that poultry farmers are being told to curtail production. Why isn't this surplus going to the starving peoples, Senator Pepper?

Mr. Denny: Yes. There's a surplus of poultry. Why isn't this surplus going to the starving peoples? Senator Pepper?

Senator Pepper: My answer will have to be that I don't know. I think that it certainly must be going or there's some reason for it not to be going if there's a surplus. (*Laughter and applause.*)

Mr. Denny: The Senator and the Secretary are shaking hands. Do you mean to agree with that,

Secretary? If it isn't, it ought to be. All right. Oh, Mr. Heinz says he wants to comment on that.

Mr. Heinz: I would like to add that poultry is not a satisfactory relief-feeding commodity.

Mr. Denny: Very good.

Senator Pepper: I told you there was a reason. (*Laughter and applause.*)

Secretary Wallace: I would like to add furthermore that the reason there is a surplus of poultry at the moment is that they wanted to save the feed that otherwise would have gone to poultry, especially the wheat, and they've put on a special drive to get the farmers to sell their nonproducing hens, their poor-producing hens at the present time. So the surplus, to some degree, is dovetailing into this over-all picture.

Mr. Denny: Well, now, Mr. Secretary, there is also a surplus of eggs. (*Laughter.*) Let's take Mr. Miller on that.

Congressman Miller: Yes, there's a surplus of eggs and the Agriculture Department had promised the farmers of this country a parity price of 27 cents a dozen on eggs. Out in the western part of the states—in my state—they're selling for 20 cents a dozen. The Government hasn't kept their promise to the farmers and, later on, there's going to be a bigger shortage of eggs if that condition exists.

Mr. Denny: Yes, give us the names of some dealers and we'll start ordering eggs from out there. All right. The gentleman in the balcony.

Man: I direct my question to the Representative.

Mr. Denny: Yes, Congressman Miller.

Man: I speak as a veteran. If the OPA fosters the black market, why not stand up and be counted with those who want to put teeth in the OPA to knock out the teeth of the black marketeers? *(Applause.)*

Congressman Miller: A very fine question. I will say to the analyst up there that I, for one, am going to ask that the functions of food in the OPA be placed over in the Agriculture Department where it belongs in the first place; that all food from the time it is placed in the ground until it comes into the bread, or onto the table of the consumers, be placed in the Agriculture Department to get rid of this black market. You will never get rid of the black market under the OPA. They foster it, they father it, they continue it, and are doing it at all times. *(Shouts and applause.)* And I'll say to you that all rents are to be placed in the Federal Housing Administration which knows something about housing, and not in the OPA. *(Applause.)*

Mr. Denny: Congressman Miller, while you're on your feet,

here's a question from New York City. "What assurance have the American people that food we apparently send to starving people will not be used as a political weapon for European politicians?"

Congressman Miller: Oh, I think that's a hard question. I think some of it is used probably by European politicians. I think some of it will go there. I think the food that's going into the present countries that Russia controls, that Russia takes a certain amount *(shouts)* of food out and takes that food. That's a known fact. However, I feel that most of the food under UNRRA is going to the individual that needs it, but you can't stop it entirely from getting into some political hands and being used for political purposes. *(Applause.)*

Mr. Denny: All right. Thank you. Next question from the gentleman.

Man: I'd like to ask Senator Pepper if he does not feel that if America is to occupy her position of world leadership, do we not have to win this war of starvation in Europe and in the world?

Senator Pepper: Yes, you are quite right in what you say. I spent four months in Europe, in the Middle East, and in the Balkans, between the middle of August and the middle of December. I felt humble and almost frightened to see the way the people in those lands looked to the United

States. The hope and the confidence that they have that we will not only help them through their crisis, but we will succor them in their hunger and make it possible for them to keep their peace. You're absolutely right. Today America stands at the moral pinnacle of all her history. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Senator Pepper, here's a question from Nashville, Tennessee. "What is being done by European peoples to produce more food next summer and how long will America be expected to help feed them?"

Senator Pepper: I saw in every country that I visited men and women working from early in the morning until late at night in the fields. I saw various things being done by them to get farm machinery again, to try to discover livestock that they could get back on their farms that has been taken away or killed by the enemy, and many other things that the people were doing to help themselves. In addition to that, the UNRRA is not only thinking about the immediate present, but it, too, is spending some of its money buying farm machinery for these people, buying seed, and helping them to acquire livestock so that they can help themselves, and we will not have to continue this contribution indefinitely.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Con-

gressman Miller, did you want to add something to that?

Congressman Miller: Well, I'd like to add that the farmers of this country for a long term program must be given adequate help. They must have machinery, fertilizer, and an adequate price if they are going to produce. If they do that, we'll produce much more food in this country than we're producing at present—500 million acres in this country are under agriculture, 350 million are being farmed at present. We can still raise a great deal of food in this country, but we must have the incentive, help, machinery, price, and fertilizer.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. The gentleman back here in the corner.

Man: My question is directed to Mr. Heinz. Mr. Heinz, I would like to know if you feel that less delicacies like catsup and pickles would help aid the situation? (*Laughter.*)

Mr. Heinz: May I have that question again? If there were less delicacies such as catsup and pickles, would that help the situation? That's a good question. (*Laughter.*) Unless it were for the saving of sugar, it would be of no help, whatever, and all the food industry which uses sugar, from candy-makers to pickle-makers, are using sugar according to a government set aside formula, which has been established in order to save the necessary amount of sugar accord-

ing to our foreign commitments.
(*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. The gentleman over here. The other side of the aisle.

Man: Mr. Secretary, do we have any plans to help feed the 400,000 homeless people in Finland, living on a starvation diet of 1,170 calories, due to Russian aggression?
(*Applause.*)

Secretary Wallace: I will answer the first part of your question, but not the second part. In regard to the first part of your question, Finland is now—I was informed last week by Governor Lehman—one of the UNRRA countries. I am informed by the Department of Agriculture that the food situation in Finland, while worse than elsewhere in western Europe, is definitely better than in most of the other UNRRA countries. It is bad, but it is not as bad as the situation among a hundred million people in Poland and Italy and Yugoslavia, and those various countries in eastern Europe.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Here is a question directed to the Moderator from Columbia, Missouri. "Wouldn't it be comfortable if every overweight person in the United States would diet, thus sending his extra calories to Europe?" (*Laughter.*)

Mr. Denny: I'm going to participate in the discussion and say "Yes." All right, the next ques-

tion. The lady on the front row of the balcony.

Lady: I want to direct my question to Representative Miller. He mentioned something about subsidies.

This is purely a question to which I'd like a categorical reply. Well, here's the point. He asked us whether or not we are willing to have our children pay in the future. He also mentioned something about Russia. The point is this, Representative Miller, isn't it better to be able to afford to pay and pay, than not have? Am I clear on my question?

Congressman Miller: Lady, you may not be able to pay when your children get big enough to pay.
(*Laughter.*)

Mr. Denny: All right. I'm sorry, but we haven't time for any more questions just now. I want to thank Secretary Wallace, Senator Pepper, Congressman Miller, and Mr. H. J. Heinz, II, for their contribution to this discussion tonight. This is indeed a vast and intricate subject which we cannot hope to settle by a single discussion. But, we're grateful to each one of you for the light you've thrown in many dark corners and the facts we've given you, and we earnestly hope that we, the people, will be able to do the things we should do to get the food that is needed to the starving peoples of the world.

The best resources of the na-

tion are now being mobilized to deal with this question, and that calls for your help and mine. President Truman has invited former President Hoover and other eminent experts to draft policies and work out practical plans for our complete participation in this effort. Neighbors throughout the land, I'm sure that any constructive ideas that you have on this question will be cordially received by Mr. Hoover, by the President of the United States, by the Secretary of Agriculture, and your Representatives in Congress. Next week, we journey to St. Louis, where we'll be the guests of the Board of Education in presenting our National Junior Town Meeting, and here's Fred B. Cole to tell you about it.

Mr. Cole: Among the thousands of letters you sent in following our Town Meeting on juvenile crime, many of you asked for a discussion of the question of the influence of the movies on our young

people, and that's exactly what we are going to discuss next week. "Do Our Movies Tend To Raise or Lower Our Moral Standards?"

Our two adult speakers will be Mrs. James F. Looram, motion-picture chairman of the International Federation of Catholic Alumnae, and Jimmy Fidler, Hollywood radio commentator. They will be joined by four winners of a nation-wide essay contest, conducted by Town Hall in cooperation with the high school magazine, *OUR TIMES*. Now, here's Mr. Denny with the announcement of the winner of tonight's bond.

Mr. Denny: Tonight our committee of judges has awarded the \$25 United States Savings Bond to Mary K. Golden who asked the question of Representative Miller, "Human nature being what it is, can we rely on voluntary means to conserve food to feed starving people of the world?" (*Applause.*) Congratulations, Mary Golden.

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